

## Message Text

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12

ACTION EA-09

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PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9279

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USMISSION USUN NY

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

FBIS OKINAWA

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

COMIPAC

CHMAAGCHINA

COMUSTDC

CDR USACC TAIWAN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY RANGOON

AMEMBASSY ROME

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USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT PFOR CH

SUBJECT: WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA NO. 8

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SUMMARY: THE IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST "CAPITALIST ROADERS IN THE PARTY" HAS SPREAD TO MOST AREAS OF SOCIETY DURING THE PAST WEEK. THE FIRST TWO OFFICIAL PRONOUNCEMENTS ON THE DEBATE--HUA KUO-FENG'S COMMENTS IN HIS BANQUET TOAST FOR FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON AND A PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL--ARE MUCH Milder IN TONE THAN OTHER MEDIA STATEMENTS. THERE ARE OTHER SIGNS AS WELL OF A DECIDED ATTEMPT TO KEEP THE CAMPAIGN WITHIN LIMITS AND UNDER SOME CENTRAL CONTROL. EXTERNALLY, THE MAJOR STORY FROM PEKING HAS BEEN THE HIGH-LEVEL ATTENTION PAID TO FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON, WHO IS BEING HOSTED BY ACTING PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG AND HAS MET WITH CHAIRMAN MAO. ANTI-SOVIET POLEMICS CONTINUE AT A VERY HIGH LEVEL WITH MUCH OF THE OUTPUT APPARENTLY DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE OPENING OF THE 25TH CPSU CONFERENCE. END SUMMARY

1. INTERNAL SCENE: IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN BROADENS AMID  
SIGNS OF CONTINUED CONTROL

THE IDEOLOGICAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST "CAPITALIST ROADERS IN THE PARTY" HAS BROADENED INTO MOST AREAS OF SOCIETY DURING THE PAST WEEK WITH THE REGIME MAKING ITS FIRST OFFICIAL PRONOUNCEMENTS IN A HUA KUO-FENG BANQUET TOAST (NCNA, FEBRUARY 22)  
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AND IN A PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL OSTENSIBLY ABOUT SPRING PLANTING (NCNA, FEBRUARY 24). HUA'S STATEMENT IS A CONSIDERABLE LESS EMOTIONAL VERSION OF THE CAMPAIGN, CALLING IT A "DEBATE" RATHER THAN A "LIFE AND DEATH STRUGGLE." HUA VIEWS THE DEBATE AS IDEOLOGICALLY BENEFICIAL FOR DEEPENING UNDERSTANDING OF MAO'S LINE RATHER THAN TO EXPUNGE AN ERRONEOUS LINE (HONG KONG 2010). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

2. THE EDITORIAL ON THE OTHER HAND AMPLIFIES CHIRMAN MAO'S QUOTATION ON TAKING CLASS STRUGGLE AS THE KEY LINK (HONG KONG 0003), QUOTING HIM AS ATTACKING THE "THREE DIRECTIVES" AS THE KEY LINK (WR 7), BUT OTHERWISE REMAINS MUCH Milder THAN OTHER MEDIA POLEMICS. WITH ITS FIRST OFFICIAL REGIME REFERENCE TO "CAPITALIST ROADERS" AND CLARIFICATION THAT MAO IS SQUARELY BEHIND THE ATTACK ON THE "THREE DIRECTIVES" AS KEY, THE EDITORIAL LENDS OFFICIAL SANCTION AND WEIGHT TO THE CAMPAIGN'S CONTINUATION, BUT WITHOUT CALLS FOR REVOLUTIONARY ACTION. THERE IS A STRONG SENSE THAT AGRICULTURAL POLICIES AND PERHAPS EVEN ECONOMIC POLICY IN GENERAL WILL CONTINUE DESPITE NOTICEABLE UNDERSTATEMENT ABOUT THE TACHAI CONFERENCE (HONG KONG 2103). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

3. OTHER SIGNS THAT THE REGIME IS SEEKING TO KEEP THE CAMPAIGN UNDER CONTROL INCLUDE REGIME POLEMICIST YAO WEN-YUAN'S STATEMENT TO JAPANESE VISITORS THAT NO "FIGHTING GROUPS" WOULD BE ORGANIZED AND OTHER CHINESE OFFICIALS EXPLAINING THAT UNIVERSITY "STUDY GROUPS" GOING BETWEEN CITIES WERE NOT ENGAGED IN CULTURAL REVOLUTION-LIKE "EXPERIENCE EXCHANGES." THIS PARTICULAR ACTIVITY WAS ALSO SINGLED OUT FOR PROHIBITION IN AN AUTHORITATIVE SOUNDING ARTICLE ATTRIBUTED TO AN "NCNA REPORTER" IN THE FEBRUARY 22 PEOPLE'S DAILY. PLA PARTICIPATION IN THE CAMPAIGN CONTINUES TO BE MINIMAL WITH MEMBERS OF A 1974 ANTI-LIN/CONFUCIUS CAMPAIGN MODEL UNIT MAKING NOISES ABOUT CAPITALIST ROADERS BUT MAKING NO CALLS FOR MASS ACTION BY PLA UNITS (HONG KONG 2062). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

4. REGIME OFFICIALS CONTINUE TO GIVE PRIVATE ASSURANCES THAT THE PRESUMED TARGET OF CRITICISM--VICE PREMIER TANG HSIAO-PING--CONTINUES TO WORK IN HIS OFFICE AND WITH THESE OFFICIALS ASSUMING THAT TENG CONTINUES TO HOLD EACH OF HIS VARIOUS CONFIDENTIAL

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TITLES. AS A POSSIBLE INDICATOR THAT TENG'S POSITION IS NOT AS CRITICAL AS POSTER ATTACKS MIGHT INDICATE, TENG'S YOUNGER BROTHER TENG KEN, A WUHAN CITY REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OFFICIAL, WAS INVOLVED IN PLACING WREATHS ON THE TOMB OF SOVIET DEAD (NCNA, FEBRUARY 23). THE YOUNGER TENG SHARED HIS BROTHER'S FATE DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND REAPPEARED ONLY FOLLOWING HSIAO-PING'S RETURN TO FAVOR IN 1973 (75 HONG KONG A-36). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

5. THE CAMPAIGN IN THE PROVINCES  
AFTER A RELATIVELY SLOW START, THE CRITICISM OF CAPITALIST ROADERS LAST WEEK BROADENED OUT TO THE PROVINCES. SHANGHAI AND SUCH PROVINCES AS CHEKIANG, LIAONING AND HONAN HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY VEHEMENT IN DENOUNCING REVISIONISTS IN THE PARTY AND THEIR PROPAGATION OF THE "THREE INSTRUCTIONS" IN OPPOSITION

TO MAO'S LINE. WHILE MOST CRITICISM ACTIVITY HAS BEEN CONCENTRATED ON UNITS IN EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC CIRCLES, IT HAS BEGUN TO SPREAD OUT TO FACTORIES, CYL MEETINGS, AND EVEN A MEETING OF PLA DEPENDENTS. IN ADDITION, WALL POSTERS NAMING TENG HAVE NOW BEEN REPORTED IN BOTH CHEKIANG AND HONAN PROVINCES (HONG KONG 2072). NEVERTHELESS, PUBLIC COMMENTARY FROM SOME OF CHINA'S PROVINCES HAS THUS FAR BEEN VERY CAUTIOUS, RESTRICTING ITSELF TO THE RELATIVELY SAFE GROUND OF THE DEBATE OVER EDUCATION AND SCIENCE POLICIES. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

6. WE ARE BEGINNING TO SEE LOCAL PARTY PLENUMS CALLED TO DEAL WITH THE CRITICISM CAMPAIGN. A RECENT NANKING MUNICIPAL ENLARGED PLENUM CAME DOWN HARD ON CAPITALIST ROADERS, AS DID A MEETING OF THE HEILUNGKIANG PARTY COMMITTEE. NEVERTHELESS, ONLY TWO PROVINCIAL FIRST SECRETARIES HAVE APPEARED PUBLICLY AND ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH THE CAMPAIGN SINCE HUA-KUO-FENG'S APPOINTMENT, INNER MONGOLIA'S YU TAI-CHUNG AND KWANGSI'S AN PING-SHENG. QUITE CLEARLY, MOST OF CHINA'S PROVINCIAL LEADERS HAVE SHOWN NO DESIRE TO GET OUT IN FRONT OF THIS POTENTIALLY DESTABILIZING CAMPAIGN. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
USMISSION USUN NY  
AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
FBIS OKINAWA  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI  
COMIPAC  
CHMAAGCHINA  
COMUSTDC  
CDR USACC TAIWAN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMEMBASSY RANGOON  
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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

#### 7. LEADERSHIP APPEARANCES

PERSONAL APPEARANCES THIS WEEK HAVE GIVEN ADDED STATURE TO HUA KUO-FENG, WITH A FEW OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND POLITBURO MEMBERS ALSO ACTIVE. HUA, IN THE PAST WEEK, HAS MET WITH DELEGATIONS FROM ZAIRE AND WEST GERMANY AND MORE IMPORTANTLY TOOK ON THE HOSTING RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE NIXON VISIT. ON FIVE OCCASIONS, HUA MET WITH THE NIXON PARTY, INCLUDING THE MAO-NIXON CONVERSATIONS. FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA WAS ALSO PRESENT AT THE NUMEROUS NIXON MEETINGS AS WELL AS THE ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAM PRESENTED FOR THE AMERICAN GUESTS. THIS PROGRAM WAS ALSO THE SETTING FOR ONE OF CHIANG CHING'S RARE APPEARANCES. UNCLASSIFIED

8. IN ADDITION, POLITBURO POLEMICIST YAO WEN-YUAN MET WITH A VISITING DELEGATION OF THE JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION AND WU KUEI-HSIEN MET WITH THE BURUNDI AMBASSADOR. IN CONTRAST TO HUA'S HIGH PROFILE, NONAPPEARANCES BY TENG HSIAO-PING AND OTHER POLITBURO LEADERS HAVE CONTINUED WITH THE EXCEPTION OF CHU TEH'S CEREMONIAL APPEARANCES TO RECEIVE DIPLOMATIC CREDENTIALS. UNCLASSIFIED

#### 9. NIXON IN PEKING

THE CHINESE ARE ACCORDING FORMER PRESIDENT AND MRS. NIXON

TREATMENT THAT, WITH THE XCEPTION OF CEREMONIAL TRAPPINGS, EQUALS THAT NORAMLLY PROVIDED A VISITING CHIEF OF STATE. BESIDES THE ANTICIPATED MEETINGS WITH CHAIRMAN MAO AND TENYING-CHAO (THE WIDOW OF THE LATE PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI), CHIANG CHING (MADAM MAO) HAS BURNED OUT TO JOIN THE NIXONS AT AN EVENING CONCERT. ON BEHALF OF THE STATE COUNCIL, ACTING PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG HOSTED THE CUSTOMARY BANQUET. HE HAS ALSO ATTENDED THE NIXON-MAO MEETINGS AND HOLD THREE LENGTHY MEETINGS WITH THE FORMER PRESIDENT. ADDITIONALLY, FONMIN CHIAO KUAN-HUA AND PRCLO CHIEF AND MADAM HUANG CHEN HAVE BEEN ACCOMPANYING THE NIXONS ON MOST OF THEIR CALLS AND SIGHTSEETING IN PEKING. FOUR PRC MINISTERS--BUT NO VICE PREMIERS--WERE ON HAND FOR THE STATE COUNCIL BANQUET. IN  
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HIS BRIEF BANQUET REMARKS, HUA REAFFIRMED CHINA'S COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WHILE PRAISING NIXON. THE ACTING PREMIER DISCUSSED THE WORLD SITUATION IN FAMILIAR TERMS, BUT AVOIDED ANY DIRECT MENTION OF DETENTE. IMPLICITLY, BUT IN RATHER MILD TERMS, HE CONDEMNED SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM. PRC MEDIA (INCLUDING THE PRC-OWNED NEWSPAPERS IN HONG KONG) HAVE BEEN PROVIDING EXTENSIVE DAILY FRONT-PAGE COVERAGE, COMPLETE WITH PHOTOS OF THE VISIT. WEN WEI PAO IN HONG KONG ON FEBURARY 25 EVEN CARRIED REPORTS OF NIXON'S TALKS WITH PEOPLE IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE AND HIS PUBLIC EXCHANGE WITH CHIAO KUAN-HUA ON THE SINO-SOVIET BORDER PROBLEMS. ALL IN ALL, PEKING APPEARS TO BE USING THE VISIT TO SIGNAL CLEARLY AND IN UNMISTAKABLE TERMS THE ONGOING CHINESE INTEREST IN IMPROVING SINO-US RELATIONS AND TO PERSONALLY IDENTIFY THE NEW ACTING PREMIER WITH THIS POLICY (SEE ALSO PEKING 204). (NCNA, FEBRUARY 21-24). CONFIDENTIAL

#### 10. SOVIETS

ANTI-SOVIET POLEMICS CONTINUED AT A HIGH LEVEL DURING THE WEEK WITH DAILY MAJOR ARTICLES CONDEMNING SOVIET POLICIES BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. THE LONGEST AND MOST COMPREHENSIVE ITEM WAS A SIGNED PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE FEBRUARY 23 ENTITLED "FIVE YEARS OF DEPRESSION," OBVIOUSLY TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH THE OPENING OF THE 25TH CPSU CONGRESS. THE ARTICLE PROVIDES THE CHINESE VERSION OF SOVIET DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE 24TH CPSU. CITING SOVIET AGRICULTURAL FAILURES, INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS, AND A DECLINE IN LIVING STANDARDS, THE ARTICLE CLAIMS THAT THE ONLY AREA WHICH HAS BEEN DEVELOPED AT "HIGH SPEED" HAS BEEN THE ARMAMENT INDUSTRY. SOVIET DESIRES FOR "WORLD HEGEMONY IN THE GUISE OF DETENTE" ARE CONDEMNED AS ARE SOVIET AGGRESSIVE ATTEMPTS WORLDWIDE. THE SOVIETS ARE ROUTINELY TERMED FASCISTS OR SOCIAL-FASCISTS ARE ARE CITED AS THE MOST DANGEROUS SOURCE OF WAR (NCNA, FEBRUARY 17-24). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

11. ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOVIET ARMY DAY THE CHINESE ROUTINELY REFUSED TO PERMIT SOVIET EMBASSY OFFICIALS TO LAY WREATHS AT THE VARIOUS MONUMENTS TO SOVIET RED ARMY HEROES IN CHINA. NCNA REPORTED THE WREATH-LAYING CEREMONIES CARRIED ON BY LOCAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEES IN NINE LOCATIONS. LAST  
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YEAR THE SOVIET EMBASSY REQUEST WAS REFUSED FOR MANY PLACES ALTHOUGH PERMISSION WAS GRANTED FOR SOVIET OFFICIALS TO GO TO WUHAN. WE ARE UNCRETAIN WHETHER OR NOT THIS PRACTICE WAS FOLLOWED THIS YEAR (NCNA, FEBRUARY 23). UNCLASSIFIED

12. THE PRC AMBASSADOR TO MOSCOW, LIU HSIN-CHUAN, HAS PAID HIS FAREWELL CALL ON PODGORNYY PRIOR TO HIS RETURN TO PEKING. PRC MEDIA HAVE NOT YET REPORTED HIS RETURN. UNCLASSIFIED

13. THE UNITED STATES AND TAIWAN

BOTH MAJOR PRC-OWNED NEWSPAPERS IN HONG KONG HAVE PICKED UP A FEBRUARY 19 WIRE SERVICE STORY FROM TAIPEI REPORTING THE PLANNED SUMMER CLOSURE OF THE TAIPEI AIR STATION AND FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN US MILITARY PERSONNEL THERE. THE BRIEF FRONT-PAGED REPORT CITED AN AMERICAN SPOKESMAN'S COMMENT THAT THE STATION IS "ALREADY UNNECESSARY" AND NOTED THAT THERE ARE NOW NO US COMBAT UNITS STATIONED ON TAIWAN. UNCLASSIFIED

14. SOUTH ASIA

FOLLOWING REPLAYS OF DACCA-SOURCED REPORTS ON BANGLADESH'S (BD) PROBLEMS WITH INDIA (WR 7), A HARD-HITTING FEBRUARY 19 PEOPLE'S DAILY COMMENTARY CONDEMNED INDIA'S "BULLYING" OF BD WHILE A COMPANION PIECE OF THE SAME DATE APPLAUDED THE IMPROVING RELATIONS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND BD. THE SOVIETS, AS USUAL, ARE SEEN AS CONTRIBUTING TO THE INCREASED TENSION IN THAT AREA AND AGAIN CHARGED WITH INSTIGATING AND SUPPORTING INDIA'S EXPANSIONIST RULERS. THE PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE ALSO NOTED PAKISTANI VIEWS ON THE "NEED FOR THE UTMOST VIGILANCE AGAINST SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST MANEUVERS TO USE OTHERS FOR INTERVENTION IN DB." CHINA'S MEDIA TREATMENT OF SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS REPRESENTS AN EFFORT TO DEMONSTRATE ITS MORAL SUPPORT FOR THE CURRENT DACCA GOVERNMENT IN ITS TROUBLES WITH INDIA AND IS PROBABLY GEARED TO THE ANNOUNCED LATE-MARCH VISIT TO PEKING BY PAKISTANI PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO. HIS LAST VISIT TO CHINA WAS IN MAY, 1974 (HONG KONG 2042). LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

15. ASEAN

PRC MEDIA HAVE MARKED THE OPENING OF THE FIRST ASEAN SUMMIT  
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CONFERENCE WITH A STRAIGHT NEWS STORY BASED ON BALI REPORTS WHICH NOTED THAT THE SUBJECT OF STRENGTHENING OF UNIT AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION IS A MAJOR AGENDA ITEM. NCNA CITED COMMENTS OF FOUR OF THE ASEAN CHIEFS OF STATE (LEAVING OUT INDONESIAN PRESIDENT SUHARTO). JUST PRIOR TO THE SUMMIT'S CONVENING AND WITHOUT MENTION OF ASEAN BY NAME, AN NCNA CORRESPONDENT ARTICLE BLASTED SOVIET HEGEMONISM AS THE "MAIN SOURCE OF THREAT TO SOUTHEAST ASIA." IT REPEATED FAMILIAR CHARGES THAT MOSCOW HAS BEEN CONSISTENLY SABOTAGING THE NEUTRALIZATION OF SEA WHILE PEDDLING ITS ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SCHEME, SEEKING BASES AND PORTS IN SEA, INFILTRATING SPIES, AND SEEKING TO REPLACE THE US AND OVERLORD. A FEBRUARY 24 COMMENTARY IN HONG KONG'S PRC-OWNED WEN WEI PAO CHARGED THAT A PRAVDA WELCOME TO ASEAN IS FALSE AND THE SOVIET'S WOOING OF ASEAN IS ONLY PART OF MOSCOW'S EFFORTS TO THWART THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEUTRAL ZONE IN SEA WHILE GAINING SEA COUNTRIES' PARTICIPATION IN THE SOVIET ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SCHEME (NCNA, FEBRUARY 18 AND 23).

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